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Report of National Secretary.

COMRADES: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist Party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earnest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organization representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist Party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibility that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and they should elect as their officials and

representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper meed of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced,

but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement—ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist Party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encourage-

ment and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist Party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority, wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and of the prevalence of the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere perhaps in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere, there will be fewer locals disband after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization is as yet practically new, and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitution and the development of the organization, should gradu-

ally disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist Party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy to the extreme and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the position they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurping the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in organized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with

other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist Party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of recognition of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affecting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their action to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction or control over any or all of them. Experience has also already shown that it is impossible to devise a basis of representation upon the committee which will permit of equal representation from all the states. The size of the committee makes the method of transacting business cumbersome, exhausting and expensive.

As a substitute for this I would suggest that there be a National Executive Committee, to consist of seven or nine members selected by referendum of the party at large, regardless of section, with each and all members subject to recall. This would give the entire party membership the choice of its administrative body and ensure representation to the locals in unorganized states and territories which have now no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. The National Secretary should be under the direct supervision of the National Executive Committee, but elected by referendum of the party membership. The acts of the committee upon all matters referred to it

could be published regularly in a bulletin issued for that purpose and furnished to every party member.

THE REFERENDUM.

The initiative and referendum involves a principle too sacred and valuable to be used lightly. Recently two referendums were taken upon the same subject within thirty days of each other, and as a result there are now two contradictory clauses in the present national constitution. The provisions for initiating referendums should be changed to conform to the growth of the organization and propositions should be limited in length. A law should be in force and effect at least ninety days before another law upon the same subject could be initiated and submitted to a referendum.

ORGANIZATION AND AGITATION.

The work done by the national organizers during the past fifteen months has been productive of much good and seems to have given general satisfaction. The expense incurred in placing and keeping these organizers in the field has been greater than will probably be the case in the future, as the ground covered by them was mostly new. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the comrades at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the organizers traveled for the national organization there was no need of rendering any financial assistance. If the national office had unlimited resources at its command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations develop they will be able to employ their own organizers, and the necessity for national organizers will become lessened. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers could be improved upon, however, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party service, special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organization, etc.

I take the liberty of proposing to the convention the creation of the office of General Organizer. The activities of this official would not be restricted to any section and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require personal investigation and action. There has been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to be selected. The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work could be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the

formation of the foreign-speaking workers into separate federations to be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be better to have federations as proposed, or to have these workers organized directly into locals and branches of the party, is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some specific manner so that a definite line of action can be pursued.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Until recently the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arranging of tours for party lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the locals and oftentimes at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I have attempted, in accordance with instructions from the National Committee, to formulate a definite system of lecture work which would enable the party locals to engage capable lecturers at a normal expense, while guaranteeing these lecturers sufficient remuneration for the labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly successful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obviated by the adoption of definite rules to govern the routing of interstate speakers and which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the work of routing lecturers and organizers when they were unable, for various reasons, to perform the work properly. The blame for this state of affairs has been mostly directed at the national office, when the facts are that in almost every case the routing done by the latter has been more satisfactory in every way. With the facilities now in use, speakers and organizers can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of those states in close proximity to the seat of the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a lecture system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "bureaucracy" a national headquarters for the purpose of victimizing certain speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, the first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarranted; that I was not actuated by personal motives of any kind; that I had no other purpose than

the co-ordination of the party forces upon a scale which would guarantee economy and better results in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and proclaim to be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized movement, when pioneer work was the rule and Socialists were widely scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of speakers did not arise, except in well-organized sections of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has arisen and provoked discussion. This is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist Party should be prepared to accept the control of the party. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party; the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state organizations, and the national workers to the national organization. The question of remuneration is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

SUPPLIES.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a normal price charged in order to bring them within easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. If ordered in large quantities for cash, the books can be secured at a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries have also been devised and when put into use will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

BULLETINS AND REPORTS.

The issuance of weekly bulletins and reports chronicling party affairs and activity has proven of such value that steps should be taken to extend the service. It is essential that the membership be fully informed upon the action of the party officials and party affairs in general. The space in the Socialist press is too limited to publish all of this information, which is of more or less importance. I believe a month bulletin should be issued in printed form devoid of editorial matter and devoted entirely to financial, national committee, and organizers' reports, and other details of an official character. The bulletin could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member. This would not prevent the continued issuance to the party press of a weekly bulletin reporting current items of immediate importance.

EXPENSES OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessment of a nominal sum from each member for this specific purpose and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation could be changed, but a more general attendance would be secured. The adoption of this proposition would place all aspirants for election as delegates in the different states upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily in numbers and influence, and with its further development will become a most potent factor in shaping the destinies of the movement. Without doubt the general literary and spiritual quality of the press is improving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press than can fittingly represent the Socialist party. The practice of beginning the publication of local papers before the condition of the movement warrants their continuance has a tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, besides making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is much better to increase the usefulness of papers already in the field than to embark upon undertakings which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organization may justify me in stating my views in opposition to such a proposition. I believe also that the existence of an independent press free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest safeguards toward protecting and preserving the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press provides a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hitherto almost invariably grown out of the placing of official organs in the hands of party officials. In this field, at least, we can afford to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialists themselves.

CONCLUSION.

I have not considered it necessary to repeat what has already been included in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the

showing therein made seems unfavorable, the comrades will bear in mind that the expense recently incurred by assisting the party in Colorado and in the Milwaukee municipal campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your National Secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Martin, and James Oneal. They have worked capably and faithfully for the party's interests, and this slight recognition, although inadequate to the proportion of their services, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee and quorum, the party press, the national organizers and lecturers, and the comrades generally throughout the country.

To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manifested by your presence here today. The further advancement of the Socialist cause in America is conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history, with the social forces that make for change working in complete harmony with the Socialist philosophy, with the opportunities for hastening the oncoming Social Revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devotion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than that worthy of the cause having for its realization the emancipation of the working class of the world and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904.

National Platform.

I.

THE Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic; and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast ma-

jority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers from the world from uniting; and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully con-

scious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing

the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage for men and women and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and

for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America; and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

GEORGE D. HERRON, Chairman.

G. H. STROEBELL.

M. W. WILKINS.

THOS. E. WILL, Secretary.

BEN. HANFORD.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

H. F. TITUS.

The National Constitution.

ARTICLE I—NAME.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II—MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed connection with all other political parties and who subscribes to the principles of the party, is eligible to membership. Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other political party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist party.

Sec. 2. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer.

ARTICLE III—MANAGEMENT.

Sec. 1. The affairs of the Socialist party shall be administered by a national committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party.

ARTICLE IV—NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the national committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the national secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year.

Sec. 2. The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years.

Sec. 3. The national committee shall meet in regular session in all even numbered years when no national conventions of the party shall take place. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of the members of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall be determined by the national committee.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the national committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

Sec. 5. Between the sessions of the national committee, all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

Sec. 6. The national committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE V.—DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions decided upon by referendum of the party; to arrange rules and order of business of national convention subject to the approval of the convention; to make reports to national conventions; to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the executive committee.

Sec. 2. The national committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

ARTICLE VI.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. The executive committee of the national committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the national committee, from the membership of the party, but no more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the executive committee shall be one year.

Sec. 2. The executive committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the national secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the national secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the national committee expressly reserved for the national committee or the general vote of the party.

Sec. 3. The executive committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the national committee.

Sec. 4. The executive committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the national committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the national committee.

Sec. 5. Between sessions of the executive committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

ARTICLE VII.—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Sec. 1. The national secretary shall be elected by the national committee; his term of office shall be one year. The national

secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,500 annually.

Sec. 2. The national secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the national office subject to the directions of the executive committee, and the national committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the lecture bureau, the literature bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office.

Sec. 3. The national secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such a way as the executive committee may direct, monthly bulletins containing a report on the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Sec. 4. The national secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of his office.

Sec. 5. The national secretary and members of the executive committee may be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the national committee.

ARTICLE VIII—THE LECTURE BUREAU.

Sec. 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lectures on the propaganda of Socialism.

Sec. 2. The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization, and it shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party.

Sec. 3. The national committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

ARTICLE IX—THE LITERATURE BUREAU.

Sec. 1. The national committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature.

Sec. 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others a stock of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the committee, to publish works on Socialism or for the purposes of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodical.

Sec. 3. The profits of the literature bureau shall go into the general funds of the treasury.

ARTICLE X—CONVENTIONS.

Sec. 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for president and vice-president of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership.

Sec. 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the national committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate-at-large, and one additional delegate for every 200 members in good standing, provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

Sec. 5. The railroad fares of the delegates in going to and coming from the place of convention shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expense shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

ARTICLE XI—REFERENDUM.

Sec. 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the national secretary to a referendum of the party membership, upon the request of twenty locals in five states or territories, or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least 2,000 in the aggregate.

Sec. 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the national secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.

Sec. 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for a referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII—STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Sec. 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which

may have lapsed, shall be under the direction of the executive committee, and in conformity with the rules of the national committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory shall be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than 100, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto, and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other party or political organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to further the interests of candidates of such party or organization; nor shall any candidate of the Socialist party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The state committees shall make monthly reports to the national secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Sec. 6. The state committees shall pay to the national committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

Sec. 7. On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state organization in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken, acting under rules of the national committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity.

Sec. 8. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

ARTICLE XIII—HEADQUARTERS.

The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the national committee.

ARTICLE XIV—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

Report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in Chicago, Ill., May, 1904:

Comrades: Your Committee on State and Municipal Program beg leave to submit the following report:

We wish first of all to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the members of the committee, but is the apparently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opinion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as otherwise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or binding upon the various state and municipal conventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situation.

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper preparation of state and municipal platforms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and transmitted a copy of them to the Committee on Constitution:

Whereas, the Committee on State and Municipal Program regard it as essential that the Socialist Party should have a permanent Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters.

Therefore, be it Resolved that we, the Committee on State and Municipal Program, recommend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters, and recommend that the following provisions become a part of the constitution of the party:

Section A: There shall be elected at each national convention a committee of nine (9) on State and Municipal Affairs.

Section B: The committee shall have power to fill vacancies occurring among its members during the interim between the meeting of the national conventions.

Section C: The object of the committee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, ordinances, bills and such other legal measures for the carrying out of the Socialist program as may be necessary, and

also to advise the party, where it may desire, in the preparation of local and state programs.

Section D: The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, at such times as may be deemed advisable, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

Section E: The expenses of the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

STATE PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY—PREAMBLE FOR STATE PROGRAM.

STATE PROGRAM.

The principles of the Socialist platform cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist party is a minority party. The work of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interests of the working class. In presenting and advocating such measures the Socialist members of the state legislatures and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Socialist party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation. Socialists in state legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent Committee on State and Municipal Program provided by the National Constitution of the Socialist party.

The following suggestions are made as a preliminary basis for the activity of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are not mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students.

Free text-books for teachers and pupils; uniform text-books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools, and to private schools on request.

The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teachers and students in all institutions above the grade of high schools.

In history and economics, the proletarian standpoint to receive equal consideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsory education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.

Co-education in all branches of science, and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades.

Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnastics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for students of both sexes throughout all grades.

Extension of the public school system to assure equal educational opportunities to all classes in all branches of learning, public supervision of all educational institutions to secure an equal educational standard.

STATE MILITARY LAW.

The repeal of all militia law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities; and members of the state militia to be exempt from all other military service.

The right of privates of the state militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state limits.

Federal troops to be prohibited from interfering in disputes between capitalists and laborers.

CITIES.

The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.

PUBLIC WORKS.

For the purpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state to inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance.

The contract system to be abolished in all public works and such work to be done by the state directly.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be entitled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and maintenance of all sick and disabled persons.

TAXATION.

A graduated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed, such revenue to be used solely in the interest of the working class, not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor traffic.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS.

Railroads and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control, and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS.

The abolition of all court costs and sheriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last resort.

The establishment of free legal departments.

Sufficient courts to secure speedy trials.

PRISON SYSTEM.

1. The present brutal system of treating criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated confinement, and the substitution therefor of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful open-air employment, and treatment corresponding to modern scientific psychological pathology.

2. A juvenile court to be established. No child under 18 years to be considered a criminal, nor to be confined with older criminals.

SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor.

Women to have equal political rights with men.

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight-hour day and a minimum wage, uniform for both sexes.

Free state employment agencies.

All specific laws detrimental to the working class to be repealed, such as conspiracy, anti-boycott and anti-picketing laws; and the abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes.

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty.

INSPECTION.

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor.

LAND.

All land held for speculation, and all land not occupied or used by the owner to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of 10 per cent on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.

All public forest and mining lands to be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open to use with public assistance.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and imperative mandate to be put into operation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.—

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Socialist representatives in municipal administrations should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist Municipal Program. Under capitalism the municipalization of public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be called municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned industries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in one of the three following ways:

First. All service absolutely free of cost to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of New Orleans.

Second. Service at cost of production. Instance, the usual theory of water supply, and of the United States Postoffice.

Third. Service furnished at a profit to the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and play-ground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelligence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of livelihood for them, are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all and securing, as far as possible, the limitation of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of course, to make the victory of the working class more easy at every step.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

I.—CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION.

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.
2. Manual training (not trade schools) in all grades.
3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.
4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.
5. Establishment of vacation schools.
6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.—CHANGES AFFECTING TEACHING FORCE.

1. Adequate number of teachers (small classes in all schools).
2. Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching.
3. Right of trial for teachers before dismissal.
4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III.—CARE OF CHILDREN.

1. Uniform free text-books for all schools, public and private, on demand.
2. Free meals and clothing.
3. Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for contagion.

IV.—EQUIPMENT.

1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not too large.
2. Ample play-grounds, with physical instructor in charge.
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by teachers.
4. Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.
3. Pension for all city employes when sick and disabled.

II.—INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED FOR OWNERSHIP.

1. All industries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.
2. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaughter-houses where they are needed.

I.—PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT.

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.

III.—MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY.

1. Municipal autonomy for the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.
2. Issuance of bonds for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.
3. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT.

1. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.
2. Free legal advice.
3. Abolition of fee system in all courts. Trial by jury without extra expense.
4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of Municipal Labor Bureau for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor.

GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of useful works and extension of public functions to give work to unemployed.
2. Free medical service, including free medicine.
3. Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
4. Homes for aged and invalid.
5. Night lodgings for men out of employment and without homes.
7. Pensions for all public employes.
8. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases.
3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such things as care of public health demands.
4. Adequate system of parks, public play-grounds and gymnasiums.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mercantile and industrial pursuits.
2. No child under 18 may be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.

2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be demanded.

3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ventilation and overcrowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the city—abolition of contract system.

2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.

TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be used solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

2. Taxation of ground rents.

3. Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes up to \$2,000.00.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers of the city.

2. Publication of a municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal activity.

E. UNTERMANN, Chairman.

JOHN M. WORK, Secretary.

COMRADES STEDMAN of Illinois, GAYNOR of Wisconsin, REYNOLDS of Indiana, KRAYBILL of Kansas, KELLY of Massachusetts, and ATKINSON of New York.

List of Delegates.

- Alabama—F. X. Waldhorst.
- Arkansas—Wells Lefever, Wm. Penrose.
- California—J. L. Cobb, P. Deutzman, Sam. Robbins, W. W. Wilkins, Paul H. Keller, H. M. McKee, J. J. Patton, N. A. Richardson, H. B. Weaver, Bertha Wilkins, S. Stitt Wilson, C. W. Woodbey.
- Colorado—Wm. Ash, A. H. Floaten, Ida Crouch Hazlet, Guy E. Miller, R. A. Southworth.
- Connecticut—Cornelius Mahony, Eugene Toomey.
- Idaho—E. B. Ault.
- Indian Territory—W. I. Whitelatch.
- Illinois—B. Berlyn, Sam. Block, Chas. L. Breckon, Jas. H. Brower, E. E. Carr, John Collins, Wm. Dalton, D. McEachern, A. W. Mance, Theo. Meyer, Thos. J. Morgan, J. E. Phelan, D. M. Smith, Jas. S. Smith, A. M. Simons, S. Stedman, M. H. Taft, E. Unterman.
- Indiana—Wm. Barrett, Eugene V. Debs, A. T. Cridley, Matt Hollenberger, James Oneal, S. M. Reynolds.
- Iowa—John W. Bennett, J. J. Jacobson, Carrie L. Johnson, John M. Work.
- Kansas—W. R. Parks, Mrs. E. G. Cogswell, Mrs. Luella R. Kraybill, Water T. Mills, W. S. Neal, Thos. E. Will.
- Kentucky—Thos. McGrady, A. L. Nagel, F. L. Robinson.
- Louisiana—Wilbur Putnam.
- Maryland and District of Columbia—Wm. A. Toole, S. L. V. Young.
- Massachusetts—James F. Carey, Herman Brandt, H. A. Gibbs, John J. Kelly, J. A. Keown, Geo. E. Littlefield, Alex. Hayman, A. B. Outram, Dan. A. White.
- Michigan—Wm. L. Benessi, C. J. Lamb, Jas. H. McFarlan, John A. C. Menton, Wm. E. Walter.
- Mississippi—Summer W. Rose.
- Minnesota—M. A. Brattland, A. N. Gilbertson, S. M. Holman, Nicholas Klein, Geo. B. Leonard, Thos. H. Lucas, Ed. Bosky, E. B. Ford.
- Missouri—E. T. Behrens, Wm. M. Brandt, Fred H. Dilno, W. L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Carl Knecht, Caleb Lipscomb, T. E. Palmer, Geo. H. Turner, Hugh J. Raible, J. H. Rathbun.
- Montana—C. C. McHugh, W. G. O'Mally, J. H. Walsh, John J. Hirt.
- Nebraska—P. J. Hyland, W. E. Clark, J. W. Hawkins, Wm. Mailly.
- New Hampshire—Jas. S. Murray.

New Jersey—Peter Burrows, Wm. Glanz, Carl Kronenburg, W. L. Oswald, Charles Ufert, Jas. M. Reilly, David Rubinow, G. H. Strobell.

New York—Warren Atkinson, G. P. Bush, Wm. Butscher, A. P. Byron Curtis, Chas. Dobbs, Wm. Ehret, P. J. Flanagan, Julius Gerber, Benj. Hanford, Geo. D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, Algernon Lee, Gustave Dressler, Frank Sieverman, H. L. Slobodin, John Spargo, Otto Wegener, H. W. Wessling, A. A. Wayell, H. G. Wilshire, C. P. Hawley, B. J. Riley.

North Dakota—S. E. Haight, Tonnes Thams.

Ohio—Robt. Bandlow, C. A. Bickett, D. P. Farrell, Martin Goss, Max S. Hayes, W. A. Stanton, W. L. Webster, Julius Zorn, C. E. Willey.

Oklahoma—Roy Hayes, J. V. Kolachney, A. S. Loudermilk, A. W. Renshaw, J. E. Snyder.

Oregon—Irene M. Smith.

Pennsylvania—Hugh Ayres, J. Mahlon Barnes, Geo. W. Bacon, Miss Innes Farbes, Louis Goaziou, Chas. Heydrick, Frank Gagliardi, James Mauer, Robert Ringler.

South Dakota—Freeman Knowles, O. C. Potter.

Tennessee—Chas. H. Stockell.

Texas—John Kerrigan, R. O. Langworthy, E. B. Latham.

Washington—O. Lund, Herman F. Titus.

Wisconsin—H. J. Ammon, Victor L. Berger, J. W. Born, W. C. Young, W. R. Gaylord, Jacob Hunger, F. J. Weber, J. M. A. Spence, Ira Cross, Richard Elsner, E. H. Thomas.

Resolutions Adopted.

COLORADO OUTRAGES.

WHEREAS, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalist rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various state and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organizations of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and that merely at the caprice of the President.

At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended with the result that in a so-called "free state" of our so-called "free republic" there exists a despotism

greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

Therefore this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life, which alone can free individual and collected man.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, The working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world-peace.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDISTS.

Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a Comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-cut Socialism: therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite predetermined salary or fee.

SPEAKERS' SALARIES.

Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and,

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore be it

Resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. And we

Recommend, That, as far as possible, locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued.

Adopted by vote of 65 to 51.

NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

Whereas, Daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, The socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication September 1st of the *New York Daily Call*, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class.

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention, assembled at Chicago, May 1, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the *New York Daily Call* and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York comrades having the enterprise in charge.

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION.

The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class take possession of the means of production and distribution and establish their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must

consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assist and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles.

Adopted on roll call 107 to 52.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious open-shop system in governmental institutions, national, state, or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

Resolved, That this convention warns the organized workers of this country to be on guard against the attacks upon their funds, individual and collective, for striking, boycotting, picketing, etc.

Resolved, That we declare in favor of a general eight-hour law, and point to the attitude of the old parties upon this question, in Congress, in Colorado, and various other states.

Resolved, That all the signs of the times indicate that the capitalist class of this country through the medium of the Democratic and Republican parties, are seeking to destroy the labor movement by means of injunctions against the movement, and by legislation limiting the rights of organized labor.

Resolved, This vicious work can only be prevented by united political action of labor on the lines of the class struggles.

Resolved, That we call upon the wage workers to join the Socialist party with a view to overthrowing the political condition that makes it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

Debs' Speech of Acceptance.

IN the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. (Applause.) Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—because in the Socialist movement no Comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement. (Applause.) I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft in the coming strife the banner of the working class (applause); that by my utterances and by my conduct, not in an individual capacity, but as your representative, I may prove myself worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thralldom of the ages. (Applause.)

It is my honor to stand in the presence of a very historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here to-day (applause); I would that Lassalle and Engels, the men who long before the movement had its present standing wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion. We are on the eve of battle to-day. We are ready for the contest. (Applause.) We are eager for the fray. (Applause.) We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge undisputed the approval of the working class of the world. (Applause.) The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of international socialism. (Applause.) Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor to do battle for the perpetuation of a system that keeps in chains those in whose name we meet to-day. (Applause.)

There is a Republican Party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the party that has its representative in the white house; the party that dominates both branches of the congress; the party that controls the supreme court; the party that absolutely controls

the press; the party that gives inspiration to the subsidized pulpit; the party that controls every force of government; the party that is absolutely in power in every department of our activity. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to open the sources of corruption from which the lava stream flows down the mountain sides; that they adjourned long before the hour struck for adjournment in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

There is a Democratic party—(A Voice: "Where?")—a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an expiring party that stands upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past (applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot be heard in their own defense. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a modern Republican convention. (Applause.) If they were living to-day they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

The Socialist Party meets these two parties face to face, without a semblance of apology, without an attempt at explanation, scorning to compromise, it throws down the gage of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

You have honored me in the magnitude of the task that you have imposed upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. (Applause.) Responsive to your command I am here. I shall serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. (Applause.) I shall not hesitate as the opportunity comes to me to voice the emancipating gospel of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign (applause) as often, and as decidedly, and as emphatically, as revolutionarily (applause), as uncompromisingly (applause) as my ability, my strength and my fidelity to the movement will allow. I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class (applause); no power that does not spring spontaneous from the prostrate body of the workers of the world. Above all other things I realize that for the first time in the history of all the ages there is a working class movement ("Hear, hear," and applause)—perfectly free from the

sentimentality of those who riot in the misery of the class who are in that movement. On this occasion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all of the ages has been oppressed, crushed, suffered, for the one reason that through all the centuries of the past this class has lacked the consciousness of its overmastering power that shall give it control and make it master of the world. (Applause.) This class is just beginning to awaken from the torpor of the centuries (applause), and the most hopeful sign of the times is that from the dull, the dim eye of the man who is in this class there goes forth for the first time in history the first gleam of intelligence, the first sign of the promise that he is waking up, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when he, through the inspiration of the Socialist movement, shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring the emancipation of his class. (Great applause.)

To consecrate myself to my small part of this great work is my supreme ambition. (Applause.) I can hope only to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He was not a candidate for President; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself worthy to be a member of the Socialist Party (applause); he proved his right to a place in the International Socialist Movement of the World." (Applause.) If when this little work shall have been completed this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been so much more completely made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, that I close not with the decided utterance, but with the wish and the hope and the ambition that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, that my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been made and that your wisdom and your judgment will have been vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you and each of you, and through you I thank those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often, and when we meet finally we shall meet in much larger numbers to ratify the coming of the Socialist Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Hanford's Speech of Acceptance.

THE Chairman: The Chair will take the liberty of appointing Delegates Carey (Mass.), Sieverman (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.), Berlyn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Hazlett (Colo.) and Richardson (Cal.) to escort Comrade Hanford to the platform. (Applause.)

The Committee appointed by the Chair then escorted Comrade Hanford to the platform, where, after the enthusiastic applause which greeted him had subsided, he said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long ways around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long ways around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.)

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other Comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Loud applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right and wrong. (Loud applause.) I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about nineteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office and one man got a job operating it and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there

before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing office I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of any enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time as others among the workingmen had done, instead of becoming despondent I occupied all my time reading a book or a paper or making a socialist speech on a soap box or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania while the strike was going on there and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men or 5,000 men or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other comrades who were with me, and they did so because the men knew that the Socialist Party was in sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists. (Applause.) Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to the field, but they would not have been favorably received, and that was the Socialist Labor Party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades union. (Applause.) Now you think it is terrible when trades unionists make mistakes, but good Heavens, I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. (Laughter and applause.) They have troubles, but Lord, look at the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) And they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right.

"Now, Comrades, you have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth have ever had before. No previous revolution ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. (Loud continued applause.) This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Loud cheering and applause.) To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you, let your hearts be true as steel, be steeled to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into the action, and we will have socialism in our time and in our country." (Long continued applause.)

Proceedings of the Convention.

THE National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mailly, at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904. The official call of the convention was read, and Secretary Mailly announced that the Socialist Party of Wisconsin had presented a silver gavel to the Socialist Party for use during the convention. Delegate James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, was elected temporary chairman. Charles Dobbs, of New York, was elected temporary secretary. A credentials committee was then elected composed of Delegates Garver, Hayes, Kronenberg, Titus, Floaten, Bistorius and Lee. Committee on rules was composed of Work, Slobodin, Stedman, Gaylord, Taft, Penrose and Robbins. At the second session, which was called to order at 2:45 p. m., the report of the committee on credentials was received as follows:

(List of delegates is given elsewhere.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The report of the committee on credentials being then called for, Comrade Lee, chairman of the committee, prefaced his report with the following remarks:

"Your committee on credentials has passed upon all of the regular and uncontested credentials presented to it. I will first state that in regard to the decision of the national committee that no states should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in the payment of dues, the credential committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation.

The committee heard certain contests. There was a protest brought against the seat of J. Stitt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had sent a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones, of Toledo, on the occasion of his election, and that this was such a violation of the Socialistic ethics as should debar him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the committee and made the statement that he did not send that telegram; that he did not authorize its sending; that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been sent until a considerable time afterwards, but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson, of St. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in regard to this and other matters; and that he believed that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in sending it and using his (Wilson's) name along with his own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of it, and had he known of Mr. Nelson's intention to

sign his name to such telegram he would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statement of fact upon the one side or the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. There being two on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of them, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommends that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates, and ordered the delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

There was a further question raised in regard to Comrade Wilson's seat and the seat of Comrade M. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The state secretary in his report to the national secretary had included J. Stitt Wilson in the list of delegates and had included M. W. Wilson in the list of alternates. He had issued regular credentials as delegate to Comrade Wilson, and had issued credentials as *delegate*, with the word delegate underscored, in writing to Comrade Wilkins. It was explained that this arose out of a certain irregularity and conclusion in the districting of the state, the delegates there being elected by district. There being two on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of them, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommends that both Comrad Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates, and ordered the delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

In two or three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In those cases the committee, having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regularly elected, have recommended that the delegate be seated, and if it is the pleasure of the house I will read the list.

In regard to South Dakota, the committee decided that though that state was by its membership entitled to only two delegates, yet it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the three, and the committee desire that Comrade Levy, of South Dakota, shall be admitted as the third delegate, yet it understood it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the number to which that state was entitled under the exact terms of the call.

The committee finds it necessary to hold a further session to consider contests and irregularities, and it was voted that as soon as this convention has disposed of the present report of the committee on credentials the committee will then hold another session at once, at a place to be announced from this platform, and any delegates who are interested in any cases of contests and will come before the committee may attend it at any time.

The convention then having decided who should be delegates, proceeded to form a permanent organization. Comrade Carey was elected as permanent chairman for the day and Comrade Dobbs was elected secretary and Comrade Cross, of Wisconsin, assistant secretary. Then followed a long discussion on smoking, which was finally decided by a rule prohibiting smoking during sessions of the convention.

On the second day the convention was called to order at 10 o'clock Comrade Hillquit was elected chairman for the day and proceeded at once to consider the report of the committee on rules. The report was adopted with little debate until the proposition arose to appoint a committee on municipal program. Then a long debate followed, in which the whole question of such a program was brought up, but in the end the committee's report was adopted. It was decided that the convention should open its morning sessions at 9 o'clock instead of 10, as suggested by the committee on rules. On the adoption of the rules the convention adjourned.

At the afternoon session a motion to amend the rules so that a roll call could be had when asked for by delegates from three different states was offered. This was voted down, however, after considerable discussion, and it was decided that only a majority could demand a roll call. A motion was then made to elect a committee on trade unions to consist of nine delegates, and this motion brought up the first hard fight of the convention and one which was to take up more time than any other, although the main debate did not come now and the committee was elected. A committee on program, consisting of Unterman, Work, Floaten, Gaylord, Stedman, Reynolds, Berger, Kraybill and Atkinson, was then elected. The convention then proceeded to the election of the following committee on constitution: Hillquit, of New York; Barnes, of Pennsylvania; Butscher, of New York; Bandlow, of Ohio; Slobodin, of New York; Stark, of Pennsylvania; Berlyn, of Illinois; Mills, of Kansas, and Richardson, of California.

The ways and means committee having the following membership, J. L. Cobb (California), Stockell (Tennessee), C. J. Lamb (Michigan), Guy E. Miller (Colorado), David Rubinow (New Jersey), O. Lund (Washington), John Kerrigan (Texas), H. J. Amman (Wisconsin) and Hirt (Montana), was then elected. The trade union committee was composed as follows:

The Chairman: "Nominations for the trades union committee is next in order." The following were elected:

Carey, of Massachusetts; Hayes, of Ohio; Miller, of Colorado; Hoehn, of Missouri; Collins, of Illinois; Nagle, of Ohio; Kruger, of Wisconsin.

In order to give the committees ample time to work no session was held Tuesday forenoon. The convention was called to order

at 1:30 and Delegate Richardson, of California, was elected chairman of the day. The national secretary then read his annual report, which is given elsewhere. Then came the report of the resolutions committee. Unfortunately the convention had given some instructions to the committee which were interpreted to mean that they should return all resolutions committed to their consideration with some sort of action. This required them to report upon some rather useless resolutions, which took up the time of the convention. At the night session the report of the committee on constitution was received and it was then decided to print the same before discussions. The report of the press committee then was called for and was read. This committee reported against a resolution received from Local San Francisco and endorsed by several other locals providing for the establishment of a daily paper under the control of the party. This led to a considerable discussion, but the recommendation of the committee was finally concurred in by an overwhelming vote and the convention adjourned. The press committee also had the following recommendation which was endorsed at a later session.

"We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the National Office of the Socialist Party for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics.

There are, at the present time, a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but either because of lack of editorial or financial ability are not able to secure the same. In many places, also, Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways, either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper, or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control, it will reduce the expenses of publication."

The greater part of the session of May 4th was taken up by a discussion of the constitution. As the committee reported the first section, article 2 on qualifications for membership read as follows:

"Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party, and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

This was amended to provide that only those who had severed their connection with every other political party should be eligible to membership. This led to considerable of a debate but the amendment was finally adopted by a large majority. A debate also

took place on the question of an executive committee, but the section finally stood as reported by the committee. The next article on which there was considerable discussion was the question of the salary of the national secretary but the recommendation of the committee was finally carried. On Wednesday evening the report of the resolutions committee was taken up and the resolutions given elsewhere in this number considered and the action taken there noted. The report of the committee on trade unions was read at this meeting and the debate begun which was to be the longest of the session. It was taken up again on Thursday morning with Comrade Mailly as chairman.*

The previous question was at last moved and a roll-call demanded which resulted in 107 votes for the resolution and 52 against. The report of the committee on platform was then read.

At the close of the reading of the report on the platform everybody waited for the terrific battle that had been expected throughout the Convention. To the surprise of everyone, however, no one appeared to take up the cudgels for or against. Comrade Taft of Illinois rose and made a small amendment, but there was no second to his amendment, and it was lost. The question was then put to the Convention on the adoption of the platform as a whole, no one arose to speak, and it was put to a vote and carried by an overwhelming majority. Indeed there were almost no objecting voices heard and no one called for a division. The next instant there came one of those sudden breakings of a long strain which takes place when something looked forward to, half in dread and half in hope, has passed by almost unnoticed, and the Convention burst into uproarious laughter and applause.

It had already been determined by previous vote that nominees for President and Vice-president should come immediately after the adoption of the platform. Comrade George D. Herron then took the floor and made the following speech, nominating Comrade Eugene V. Debs for President:

NOMINATIONS.

"Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, in rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention, and watching the general development of the Socialist movement, for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I shall go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are greater struggles before us, or before especially those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know. Here in America the conditions of labor on the one side,

*The debate on the trade union resolution was crowded out of this number, but a summary will appear in the June issue.—Ed.

and of capital on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialistic economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nation of the world the lines of economic conflict, the lines of definition between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn, and drawn by the experience of the working class itself; and I have no doubt, although this is not the place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sun of that co-operative commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And therefore it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, not only of itself, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character of the organization of labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me therefore important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school such as they were—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For in the end the workers of the world will never be free until they free themselves by their own united action. (Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end all freedom of all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven delusive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lollards in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of social democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain or a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been because their cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

"Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years, have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that

it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that, in the intensifying struggle that will bring upon us, in the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

“Now, there is no man in America who more surely and faithfully incarnates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation or more surely voices that struggle than Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause.) And, Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, I count it as among the great joys of my life—I do not say honors, because I have had done with them long ago (applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign.” (Prolonged applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Comradé Carey of Massachusetts and Wilkins of California. Comrade Hayes of Ohio moved that the nominations be closed and that Eugene V. Debs be declared the nominee of the Socialist party for President of the United States, and amid loud cheers, this vote was declared unanimously carried.

Comrade Titus of Washington then made the following speech nominating Comrade Hanford of New York for Vice-president:

“Some of our capitalistic critics have thought that we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done; representing the working class, we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.) We have made no mistake thus far. I have felt, and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we began to thrill with the common consciousness of a common destiny, and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the world—its own emancipation and the emancipation of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.) I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention and before that some man or men, some choice among men who were not members of the working class should be made to be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against any name upon our ticket that is not truly representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in a formative period. Our

party—I had almost said was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without becoming convinced that this is a party thoroughly integrated, truly unified. It can not be destroyed, unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have had a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a workingman's platform, and we have a working man at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another representative workingman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other; who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to whom I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope his nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York." (Cheers and continued applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Delegates Berger of Wisconsin, Hilquitt of New York, Richardson of California and Dilno of Missouri. Delegate Bandlow then said, "in behalf of the comrades of the State of Ohio, I desire to move that Comrade Ben Hanford be made the nominee of this Convention as our candidate for Vice-president." This was done amid loud cheering. Comrade Hanford was then escorted to the chair and made the speech of acceptance which is given elsewhere.

Comrade George D. Herron then made a report as Secretary for the United States of the International Socialist Bureau. This report is also given elsewhere. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

The Friday session was marked with considerable haste. The Resolutions Committee reported some other resolutions, one of these which called for special effort at propaganda among the militia was rejected, as was also one against independent propaganda associations and one against the acceptance of editorial positions on capitalist papers by Socialists. The supplemental trade union resolution, which is published elsewhere, was sent to the National Committee for revision and submission to a referendum.

The following resolution presented by Comrade Titus was adopted: "No candidates shall be put forward by the Socialist party who have not been members of the party for a continuous period of at least one year, provided that this shall not apply to Locals which have been in existence less than one year."

The greater part of this session was given up to the discussion of the State and Municipal programme. It was finally decided

that this also should be sent to the National Committee for revision and submission to a referendum.

The question of a delegate to the National Congress which had come up on Thursday night was finally settled on Friday morning by the election of Comrade Untermann as delegate and Comrade Hillquit as alternate. Credentials were also given to Comrade Schluetter and the executive committee was authorized to issue credentials to other comrades who might be going to the Congress provided the number of such credentials did not exceed twenty.

The report of the Ways and Means Committee which offered several suggestions for the raising of funds was then received and referred to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee was also constituted a campaign committee with power to add to its membership.

With various resolutions of thanks to persons who had contributed to the entertainment and comfort of the Convention, the adjourned.

Interesting Convention Statistics.

Thirty-six states and territories were represented in the national convention by 183 delegates, among them being seven women (from 6 different states.) All delegates in attendance did not fill out blanks on back part of duplicate credentials. From those filled out the following facts are shown. The oldest delegate was 70 years of age, and the youngest 20 years—there were two of latter age. The average age was between 39 and 40. One hundred and twenty were natives of the United States. Foreign countries were represented as follows: Austria, 4; Canada, 9; Denmark 1; England, 7; France, 1; Germany, 19; Ireland, 2; Italy, 1; Norway, 2; Russia, 5; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 2. Total of 54. The occupations were: Architect, 1; bookkeepers, 4; brewery workers, 1; butcher, 1; cabinet maker, 1; carpenters, 5; cigarmakers, 6; clerks, 3; confectioner, 1; cooper, 1; clergyman, 1; contractor, 3; dentist, 1; editor, 20; engineer, 1; electrical engineer, 1; farmers, 5; foundryman, 1; groceryman, 1; hatter, 1; hotel keeper, 1; iron and steel worker, 1; jeweler, 1; journalist and writers, 4; janitor, 1; knitter, 1; lecturer, 7; lawyers, 15; merchants, 4; molders, 5; machinists, 4; mail carrier, 1; music teachers, 1; miner, 1; manufacturer, 1; merchant tailor, 1; news agent, 1; organizers and agitators, 5; physicians and surgeons, 5; porter, 1; printers, 16; paper hanger, 1; painters and decorators, 2; pharmacist, 1; proof reader, 1; plumber, 1; patternmaker, 1; real estate agent, 1; store manager, 1; salesmen, 4; students, 3; sawmill operator, 1; stove workers, 3; stone mason, 1; silk weaver, 1; stenographer, 1; sheet iron worker, 1; teachers, 7; telegrapher, 1; tinner, 1; waiters, 3; woodworkers, 2; watchmaker, 1; watch repairer, 1.

Seventy-eight delegates were members of trade unions.

EDITORIAL

The Work of the Convention.

In spite of threatened factional quarrels, fierce debates and even hints of disruption, the national convention which has just passed into history will probably be known as the most harmonious ever held by an American Socialist Party. There were sharp differences of opinion which found voice in debate, sometimes rather acrimoniously, but the overwhelming majority of the delegates worked together in most remarkable harmony. There would probably have been better satisfaction had the platform and constitution been sent to a referendum vote with provision for consideration of the latter by sections. It was felt, however, by those who opposed this action that there was such pressing need of a working organization for the coming campaign that some details of democratic control might be dispensed with.

When we consider the convention work as a whole, three tendencies are observable. In the first place, the constitution shows a strong tendency towards centralization of management. The national constitution now prescribes the qualification for membership rather than the states. The executive committee owes allegiance only secondarily to the states as such and may be selected without regard to state boundaries. A national lecture bureau and national literature bureau with a press association also under the control of the national committee greatly extend the functions of the national office. If the report of the committee on state and municipal program is adopted by referendum in its present form still another function will be added to the national office. Delegates to the national convention will henceforth have their expenses paid by the national organization instead of by the various states. The salary of the national secretary has been increased and he is given authority to publish a monthly bulletin on party affairs. It is more difficult to initiate a referendum than hitherto and all these things go to show that we are now beginning to get into the midst of a fight where it is absolutely necessary to delegate more authority to a central organization than has hitherto been the case. There are dangers in this, as all will recognize, yet it is believed that the dangers are less than in the opposite policy.

The second tendency which some of the comrades at least think they saw in the convention was a movement towards the "Right." This was seen in the inclusion of something analogous to immediate demands in the body of the platform, and in some of the discussions. A close examination, however, seems to give little justification for this conclusion, since there are no more of these demands than in the previous platforms, and they are stated even more guardedly. As for the convention discussions, if there was a change away from the customary revolutionary point of view, it was largely due to the presence in the convention of a small body of impossibilists, against whose actions the entire convention revolted. In this connection it was also alleged that there was a tendency to withdraw from the rank and file, which found its expression in the refusal to submit the platform to the referendum and to make the referendum on the constitution operative by sections instead of as a whole. In reply to this it may be said that no convention has ever submitted the platform to a referendum owing to the manifest impossibility of intelligently and consistently working out a platform through the referendum.

The third tendency was the most satisfactory of all. There was a general feeling that the time had come for constructive work, and this found expression in the creation of numerous additional functions to the national office, to which reference has been made above, and in the elaboration of a state and municipal program for the guidance of the Socialist officials which all felt would be elected during the next four years. The state and municipal program is to be further revised by the national committee and submitted to the referendum section by section. This was by far the best disposal that could have been made of it, since this will require still further discussion and education, and these are the things which are most needed just at this time.

One of the most interesting things about the whole convention was the rapid growth in ability to work which developed during its sessions. Nothing could have been more eloquently prophetic of the power of the working class to manage their own affairs. Few of the delegates were familiar with the work of deliberative bodies of this size, and during the first two days the machinery moved rather slowly, but by the third day the entire aspect of affairs had changed, and from that time on few legislative bodies could have acted with more efficiency combined with deliberative democratic consideration, than did this convention.

This growth in ability to transact business was only one of the points in which the convention was of tremendous educative value to the delegates themselves. Indeed, it is probable that one of the very best results of the convention was its educational work upon the delegates, and through the delegates upon their constituency. It is safe to say that no member of that convention will go home without having suffered some important changes in his intellectual make-up. He will have learned lessons of toleration and will have gained a much broader and more intelligent comprehension of the entire Socialist movement than he could have secured in many months' study.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Despite the activity during the past few years to build up the trade unions of this country and the success that was met with in this direction, despite the claims of President Gompers immediately following the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. that by voting down the Socialistic resolutions the capitalists' "sting of antagonism" had been withdrawn, the facts that have developed in the organized labor movement during the last few months stand out bold and plain that upward of a million workers have been forced to take a step backward so far as the question of wages is concerned. Beginning with the capitalistic attack upon the textile workers last fall, when a general reduction of 10 per cent was enforced in that industry, it was but a short time until demands were made upon the miners, the iron and steel workers, marine and longshoremen, glassworkers and others that they also accept decreases in wages, and whereas, a year ago, following the New Orleans convention, the labor forces everywhere, spurred on by the revolutionary sentiment that was manifest in that historic gathering—and that was defeated by only a narrow margin in finding expression in the declaration that to the worker belongs the full product of his toil—demanded and secured higher wages and better conditions, they have been forced from an aggressive to a defensive position, and throughout the country men and women of the trade unions are engaged in resisting the open shop policy, reductions of wages, lengthening of hours and generally inferior conditions. Never in the history of their trade have the miners been better organized than they are to-day. In the great competitive district of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio there are no mines operated by non-union men, and but few in Pennsylvania, while the mines of West Virginia are largely controlled by the same interests that dominate in the states named, and are therefore indirectly represented in the joint conferences. While it is undoubtedly true that the West Virginia mines are used as a convenient club to keep the unionists in check, still those mines are unable to supply but a small part of the market, and even their product could be quite successfully boycotted if the railway and marine workers, teamsters and others enforced the principles of trade unionism. If the miners were unable to withstand a reduction now, what of the future? Are periodical advances gained by continuous sacrifice to be succeeded by reductions again and again? Is it to be a never-ending march up and down the hill of capitalism? The same situation applies to the longshoremen. They, too, are almost in absolute control of the lakes. Without their labor shipping would be practically paralyzed. Yet after weeks of negotiations the latter acquiesce to a 7½ per cent reduction, or 2 per cent more than the miners. The iron and steel workers are still more unfortunate and accept a cut of 18 per cent. The latter are not as well organized as the miners and longshoremen. In years past they relied greatly upon the politicians and their "protection, prosperity and patriotism." Their primitive tools of pro-

duction developed into scientific and automatic labor-saving machinery, around which gathered trustified capitalism, and these former skilled and high-priced workers are now practically at the mercy of the combines and in a rather sorry plight. The glassworkers are quite thoroughly organized, but are also menaced by the new machinery, and are accepting cuts in the vain hope of being able to compete with iron scabs. Altogether, the outlook in the labor world, where the workers in the principal industries accept lower wages, is anything but a cheerful one, especially when we know that the living expenses are not decreasing proportionately. The cry of the capitalists has been that they wish to "stimulate" consumption by inaugurating a lower price level—and labor, of course, is to stand the expense—and thus ward off an industrial stagnation, or at least postpone it. But as capitalistic philosophy is fallacious and its political economy a snare, the scheme of preventing a depression is quixotic and doomed to failure, although capitalism's profits will be guaranteed while labor is, as usual, victimized. There is no need to engage in abstract theorizing to establish this contention. The present condition in the textile industry proves the viciousness of the capitalistic policy. When the poorly-paid weavers were notified of a 10 per cent cut they were informed that it was necessary in order to "stimulate the market" and insure them steady employment. But now thirty mills in and about Fall River announce that but three or four days will be worked until further notice, or perhaps shut down entirely if "business does not pick up." It appears that the market is overstocked, and, as the wages of the workers are being shaved off, it stands to reason that labor's purchasing power is bound to lessen, and instead of postponing the rainy day it is hastened. It is impossible to make a silken purse out of a sow's ear, or to have a decent and equitable system of wealth production where the many are forced to toil for the enrichment of a few, and it is about time that the great mass of workers awaken to a realization of the fact that social justice cannot be obtained by accepting the doctrines and rules of the capitalist class and its politicians or its apologists in labor's ranks. It is true, and always will be, that the workers are entitled to the full product of their toil, and although truth may be continually crushed to earth or dragged upon a scaffold, in or out of labor's own conventions, it will triumph sooner or later. And those who antagonize that truth in order to gain the applause of the capitalist class, its press and political hirelings, are bound to meet with bitter disappointments and regrets. The vitality of the labor movement depends upon its militancy—upon its persistency in making demands, and upon its readiness to struggle for better conditions constantly, industrially and politically. No one will deny that the workers have not sacrificed and struggled sufficiently upon the industrial field to deserve better treatment than they are receiving. They have paid dues and assessments together, struck and boycotted together, and have been blacklisted, injunctioned, fined and jailed, and yet all this suffering seems to have had little effect in educating them to strike at the foundation head of oppression—to acquire possession of the powers of government, the law-making, law-interpreting and law-enforcing institutions, and turn the legal enactments, the judicial decrees, the militiamen's bayonets and policemen's club in the other direction—in a word, little or no effort is being made collectively by organized labor—aside from the fight of the Socialist Party—to acquire control of Uncle Sam's governing machinery and enforce it against the robber capitalist class. Indeed, those who have the hardihood to object to being made targets of by capitalism's puppets in political power and advocate seizing the weapon of government in self-defense are sneeringly referred to as being not "good" trade unionists by the alleged "leaders," although the latter, when not hurling abuse at the "radicals," are busy denouncing the outrages of the courts, the militia and police, and for which they refuse to vote and condemn

others for doing so. There never was a more farcical comedy enacted on or off the stage than the one that is being played at present. No wonder that the capitalists laugh and ridicule the "scarecrow labor vote." The capitalists are perfectly contented as long as they are left in possession of Congress and the state legislatures, the courts and the militia and police. Why shouldn't they be? Their chances of winning in struggles with organized labor are immensely augmented—they control the club and labor is unarmed. They are satisfied to have the contest go on in just that manner forever. Of course the capitalists can and do hold out baits of favorable legislation in order to forestall possible political revolts, but this raises another point.

Everybody knows that the prices of necessities of life have steadily advanced during the past few years. All the financial organs say so, and every one who makes a purchase does not need to read their statistics at that. Anyhow, the organs inform us that prices have advanced over one-third in the last five or six years. True to their class interests, the capitalists, large and small, and their newspapers are busy throwing the blame upon the unions. But the fact remains that wages have not increased more than 20 per cent at the outside; the general average is perhaps nearer the 10 per cent mark. Starting with those "Christian men" headed by Baer, a perfect tornado of abuse has been heaped upon union labor for the price raise, and, of course, the meat trust, or hog combine, flour trust and other trusts down to the meanest little capitalist on the other side of the country, all have joined in the hue and cry. But the fact is, the capitalistic pickpockets began the "stop thief" howl to draw attention away from their own plundering. Mr. Guy Warfield, for example, made an investigation of the anthracite situation for World's Work, and this is what he finds:

"The coal that would have been mined if no strike had occurred was, according to the anthracite coal strike commission, about 25,000,000 tons. Thus the miners forfeited about \$25,000,000 in wages. This same commission awarded the miners, when they settled the strike, a wage increase which, including the sliding scale, is estimated at its highest to be 18 per cent. This increases the present wage cost of mining to \$1.18 and the total cost of mining to \$2.18 per ton, the costs other than wages amounting to about \$1. Before the strike the average selling price of coal at tidewater was about \$3.60 per ton. A year later this price averaged \$4.90 per ton. At \$4.90 per ton, with the cost of production \$2.18, the operators' profits to-day may be estimated at \$2.72. At \$3.60 per ton, with the cost of production at \$2, their profits before the strike were about \$1.60 per ton, or about \$1.12 less than now. Since the settlement of the strike the coal companies have produced more than 70,000,000 tons of coal, which have been distributed in the market for something in excess of \$75,000,000 more than would have been received by the operators at the prices prevailing before the strike. About \$75,000,000 additional for their coal as a direct result from the strike—this is the financial prize of the operators. Arbitration or no arbitration, the operator has realized that a strike enriches him."

In plain terms, the miners, on the face of the returns, secured an increase of 18 per cent, while the "Christian men" cleaned up 68 per cent. The fact is the miners were benefited very little. Their rents and prices of necessities have been advanced, many have been blacklisted by the barons and in some districts their shorter workday was taken from them by Roosevelt's "open shop" commissioners. Just to show how this skin game has percolated down through the whole capitalistic family I append the gist of a report that was made by a committee of investigation appointed by the San Francisco Labor Council, which explains how the little parasites grabbed for profits at the expense of union labor. The committee report says among other things:

"The fruit and vegetable stores and peddlers have raised their prices and tell their customers that they cannot sell at less, as these are union prices. It seems they have an association that fixes prices—the claim of union prices is misleading and is charged up to the union movement.

"Cypress Lawn Cemetery sent to the undertakers a revised price list that covered an increase of 50 to 100 per cent, and stated they were obliged to make the change on account of the demands of the union. The fact is that the union men had been given from 10 to 12 per cent increase in wages.

"Soon after the reed and rattan workers were organized the furniture dealers had their drummers on the road asking more money for their willow ware, saying that they had to because the men were organized. The union had not made any demands whatever.

"The Draymen's Association granted an increase of 75 cents a day to their drivers and charged 10 cents per ton to merchants from the wharves to the warehouses, hauling 50 or more tons per day, and making an increase in their revenue from each team of \$5 per day. When asked to explain they told the merchants they had raised prices on account of the raise granted the Teamsters' Union.

"The milk drivers secured a 15 per cent raise in November, 1902, and the dairymen increased the price of milk 66 per cent on the average. Restaurants of the cheaper class have advanced their help on an average of 15 per cent, and the price of meals 25 per cent, saying nothing of the curtailing of the quantity and quality of their meals.

"Restaurants of the higher value have increased wages and conditions equal to 11 per cent and have advanced prices 30 to 40 per cent. River steamboats increased wages to the men \$5 per month, equal to 14½ per cent increase, and gave the men 12 hour shifts, which increased their help 25 per cent, making an increased cost for labor of 39½ per cent. They then increased freight rates from 50 to 300 per cent, besides making a charge on returned empty cases equal to the entire pay roll of labor aboard (said empty cases were formerly returned free). Information comes to us from a variety of sources that many merchants in order to make sales at good prices claim that they have to charge the increased prices asked on account of the union, when, in fact, the only part the unions play in the matter is that they increase the pay of labor. These merchants want to add this amount to their profits."

These palpable filchings ought to establish the necessity of collective ownership if nothing else does. Every time any part of the labor army strikes and gains higher wages the capitalistic brood raises prices, in spite of the fact that production is constantly cheapened by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and then the entire labor class pays the difference and much more.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

England.

The Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party have each held their annual conference during the past month. The Social Democratic Federation found itself somewhat disturbed by a few European De Leonites, but dealt with them promptly. By an almost unanimous vote they were expelled from the organizations and their actions condemned.

A resolution was adopted denouncing the British mission to Thibet.

On the subject of Municipalism two motions and two amendments were on the agenda and a most interesting discussion took place. Eventually the Glasgow amendment, slightly altered, was carried: "That this conference is of opinion that Social-Democrats should support all forms of municipal enterprise which tend to substitute socialization for private capitalism; it is of opinion, further, that at the present stage of economic development municipalities will attain the best results by giving the best hours, wages and conditions possible to their employes, and by supplying such utilities as can be charged for at prices which cover cost of production and sinking fund, and leave a surplus to be devoted to further extension; but is of opinion that the using of profits to reduce rates should be avoided as far as possible."

A resolution in favor of unity with the I. L. P. was passed by a unanimous vote.

The following resolutions were then formally proposed and agreed to:

THE FISCAL CONTROVERSY.

"That this conference, recognizing that no tinkering with fiscal arrangements can be of any benefit to the workers, and that so-called 'fiscal reform' is brought forward as a mere red-herring to mislead the working class, expresses its gratification at the apparent failure of the recent agitation, and trusts that the effect will be to strengthen the Socialist movement as the only means for the emancipation of the working class."

THE ALIEN QUESTION.

"That this conference emphatically condemns the suggested legislation against alien immigration, more especially the institution of prohibited areas, passports, and police supervision, which are an attack on the elementary liberties of the subject, and are calculated to play into the hands of the most reactionary powers. This conference further protests against the wholesale discretion as to the admission, exclusion and extradition of alien immigrants placed in the hands of the home secretary by the government bill just introduced."

CHINESE LABOR.

"That this conference condemns the importation of Chinese labor into South Africa under conditions which virtually amount to a reconstitution of chattel slavery, in the interests of international capitalism, and will tend to the degradation of the working class and the complication of existing social relations and class antagonisms by race difficulties."

The I. L. P. convention, while adopting resolutions of policy very similar to those of the S. D. F., voted down a proposal of unity by a vote of 94 to 38. In the meantime the I. L. P. seems to have considerable difficulty in maintaining even the small portion of Socialism which it sought to introduce in the labor representation council.

Italy.

The great struggle between the two wings of the Italian Socialist party came to a climax at the congress held at Bologna, April 9 to 14. In the opening speech Turati declared that "We call our congress a Socialist congress. This, however, is not true. It is a congress of various groups." In reply to this Ferri said that "Whoever declares that we have no congress of Socialists and who sees only a battleground of two parties certainly has lost all feeling of party unity. All of us have not forgotten that behind those of us who wish unity, there stands an Italian proletariat who knows and cares nothing for theoretical battles."

The final vote showed that 424 sections, with 16,304 votes, supported Ferri's position of anti-ministerialism, while 377 sections, with 14,844 votes, supported the ministerialist position. Ferri reported that the *Avanti* had now a circulation of 30,000 copies, and that during the time of the prosecution of Ferri by Bettolo it had on some days reached a circulation of 76,000; that it was today on a self-supporting basis.

Portugal.

On January 10, 1875, there was a meeting of the "Association of March 18th" (the Commune anniversary), which was then the center of the labor movement of Lisbon. On motion of Comrade Azedo Guecco, the Socialist Party was organized, thus carrying out what had been projected since 1873, in accordance with the deliberations of the congress of the International Workingmen's Association held at The Hague in 1872. The program prepared by Guecco was adopted. Finally, in 1877, at the congress of Lisbon, the first one organized by the Portuguese Socialists, the program was adopted unanimously by the delegates of all the political labor associations existing at that time.

After four years of vexatious delays the organization was begun. It was still necessary to overcome many difficulties which at every moment arose across the path. From the congress at Lisbon to that of Porto all went well. The associations visibly increased in strength. But after a few months some began to deliberate in secret meetings and the result was that at the congress of Lisbon, in 1879, it was necessary to start the organization of the Socialist Party over again. The moment was unpropitious. The Republican party was working hard to gain control, and to that end it developed a powerful current against the Socialists. In 1880 the two parties were constantly in conflict, so that the congress at Lisbon in 1882 took place under the worst possible conditions. This relentless conflict lasted until 1885, at which time the Socialist Party succeeded in consolidating and developing itself.

In 1884 a group of "new" elements were formed; it struggled unsuccessfully against the "old"; Guecco was obliged to give up the struggle on account of his health and the "new" comrades soon withdrew, disheartened by the indignities they had to undergo. A new period of conflicts opened for the Socialist Party, and certain important results ensued, among others the disorganization of the Republican Party, the development of the Anarchist forces, the baptism of the dissolving elements to which the name of possibilities was given, opposition to the freedom of laborers, the congress at Paris, and many others. After this difficult period the Socialist Party again reasserted its activity and its importance at the time of the conference of Thomer, in 1895. But this revival was not lasting. New dissolving elements, under the pretext of another "method," brought disunion into the Socialist organizations. The result was still another standstill in the organization of the working class party.

Years passed by. In 1901 the "Confusionists" were routed, and a few months later the conference at Co-imbre gave unity and energy to the Socialist Party. It is now twenty-nine years that the party has existed in this country, enduring many vexations, struggling against numberless difficulties, overcome more than once by treason, but always pressing forward. It has to struggle against the thoughtlessness which is a characteristic of the Portuguese. Time will bring to it the mental discipline which it lacks, and the necessary firmness in action and harmony throughout the movement. But it is very difficult to enlighten the brain of this population which has slumbered for more than seven centuries. There is the colossal task to be realized by the Socialist Party.—From *L'Avenir Social*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Socialism the Nation of Fatherless Children. David Goldstein, author. Edited by Martha Moore Avery, Union News League, Boston. Paper, 374 pp. 50 cents.

This work has generally been passed over by the socialist press without notice. The reason for this is at once apparent to the socialist reader. The arguments are so palpably fallacious and the quotations from socialist authors so flagrantly unfair that the impression which it leaves upon the socialist reader is simply that no one of any intelligence would be affected by it. It must be remembered, however, that the book was not written for people of intelligence. The book is intended for circulation among the ignorant and bigoted followers of theological leaders. It is intended to create a prejudice in their minds which will prevent them from reading and reasoning about Socialist literature. That it might have an effect among such people there is no doubt. The whole aim and object of the book is to show that Socialists are endeavoring to introduce a state of sexual promiscuity.

The author sets himself in opposition to the entire scientific current of the time, denies evolution, denies all the positions by which modern science has placed the 20th century ahead of the 18th, and the Socialists may well be grateful to him in that he shows how necessary it is for any one who would oppose Socialism to take this position and to couple Darwin and Marx in common condemnation. There is a peculiar style about the book which suggests to one who is familiar with the Jesuitical anti-Socialist writings of Europe, that other hands than those that appear upon the title page have had something to do with its preparation. There is a peculiar set of double meanings running through it which characterize all the European writings referred to above, but which have hitherto been absent from the anti-Socialist writings of this country.

The idea is carried throughout the work that Socialism is hypocritical and presents two faces, one to the public for propaganda purposes, the other to converts, and that there is a sort of inner circle wherein the "mysteries of Socialism" are taught to the adepts. To this inner circle only are the Communist Manifesto and the materialistic interpretation of history known. At the same time he rather drops this position when, in order to prove the orthodoxy of these documents, he gives pages of quotations from Socialist papers urging the reading of these same esoteric books. There are other instances of this double-facedness in the book. He neither affirms nor denies, but always insinuates. It is worth while that Socialists should somewhat familiarize themselves with this sort of stuff, since if the present crusade of the Catholic church continues, it is probable that more books of a similar character will appear. It would be the easiest thing in the world to go through the book and pick out ridiculous and erroneous statements, but this would by no means have any effect in

counteracting the work of the book, since it does not appeal to the intellect but to the prejudice.

It is interesting, however, to see an author who is seeking to pose as the friend of the labor unions and the working class attacking Socialism on the ground that "it makes its propaganda among those men who having the least wealth have the lesser consciousness of citizenship."

The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson, by Thomas E. Watson. D. Appleton & Company. Cloth, 534 pp. \$2.50.

The dedication of this book is something which strikes one as either amusing or disgraceful, according to his frame of mind. The idea of looking upon William R. Hearst as a patron of letters and the defender of the "weak and oppressed" and comparing him with Jefferson is both ludicrous and disgusting.

It is unnecessary to state that the author writes as a partisan. This view is not in itself a defect. Most writers do the same, but Mr. Watson is honest enough to avow it and makes no attempt to disguise it.

The work shows much research and careful examination into original sources. Other historians and biographers of Jefferson are scored most roundly if they do not happen to agree with Mr. Watson. In justice to the author, however, it must be said that in at least a majority of cases they seem to deserve his attacks.

The work is written throughout from the small capitalist point of view and probably reflects quite clearly in its opinions the position which Jefferson occupied. It is disappointing to see that the author feels himself compelled to bestow lavish praise upon the lack of an educational system which prevailed in the South in colonial times and upon the institution of chattel slavery.

Much, however, that has been overlooked by the New England historians, who, as he correctly states, has done most of the writing of American history and done it from the New England point of view, is brought out. He clearly shows the existence of class antagonisms in colonial times and rescues from oblivion some of those who stood out against the tyranny of the commercial classes of the sea coast in early times. He also brings together considerable neglected material showing the economic causes that led to the American revolution and does, what almost no other capitalist historian has done, in that he shows the close connection between Washington's personal interest in western lands and his revolutionary activity. He also shows how when the revolution had been fought largely by the armies composed of the working class that the government was constituted in the interest of the commercial classes.

His antagonism to Hamilton, which is of the most virulent sort, has caused him to mass together much valuable material showing Hamilton's close affiliation with the capitalist class and the methods by which he constituted a government of, by, and for that class. When we come to consider his deification of Jefferson, however, the Socialist cannot but disagree. Jefferson was a representative of the southern landed aristocracy, and while it is probably true that he was much closer to the genuinely democratic point of view than Washington, yet, after all, the interests of his class demanded the overthrow of Hamilton, and this could only be brought about by arming the wage slaves of the northern capitalist with the ballot and by the establishment of democratic institutions. At the same time Jefferson's class in the South were saved from any political action of the working class, since their working class was composed of black chattel slaves.

The work is written in a brilliant, even if sometimes bombastic, literary style. As a historical document it cannot be overlooked by any one wishing to familiarize himself with this period of American history.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

With next month's issue the fourth year of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be completed. Looked on from any other point of view than that of dollars and cents, its success has been more than gratifying. Financially, it has been published at a far smaller loss than any other sociological magazine of anything like the same importance. It may be of interest to American socialists to know that the *Neue Zeit*, edited by Karl Kautsky, the most influential socialist periodical in Europe, was published for twenty-one years at a loss, and last year for the first time paid expenses. *Wilshire's Magazine* in a single year expended seventy-five thousand dollars in excess of its gross receipts. Our deficit on the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, on the basis of its present circulation, amounts to only one thousand dollars.

But this comparatively small amount is as serious a burden to our co-operative company with its limited resources as a much larger deficit would be to others. There is no wealthy capitalist behind the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Its continued existence depends on the sacrifices of the 850 stockholders of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co., nearly all of whom are laborers. To ensure this continued existence, two things are necessary. One is to raise at once a thousand dollars to clear off the floating debt that has accumulated from the loss on the REVIEW last year. The other is to add three thousand names to the subscription list so that there shall be no loss next year.

On April 14 we sent a letter to all the stockholders who were also REVIEW subscribers, explaining the situation and asking for suggestions. Among many prompt and encouraging replies, one was received from Rev. Thomas C. Hall of New York City, which we quote in part:

"Your letter of the 14th is at hand, and I hasten to respond. I am not a 'Marxian Socialist,' but take a warm, although somewhat scientific and perhaps 'cold blooded' relatively, interest in Socialism. This interest is, however, such that I would be gladly of some assistance to the REVIEW, which I would be deeply sorry to see stop. I cannot easily secure subscribers, but I would be one of twenty to give \$50 in two installments to cover the \$1,000 deficit, and would hope to do the same next year if that insured another lease of life."

On the same day that this letter reached us, we had a call from a Chicago stockholder, a professional man who cannot allow his name to be used for the good reason that his chance to earn a living would be imperiled if it were known that he is a socialist. Without knowing of Mr. Hall's proposition, he made verbally the same offer, namely, that he would be one of twenty to give \$50 each to raise \$1,000 to pay off the floating debt incurred on the REVIEW. The suggestion seemed practical, and we at once wrote to a number of those who had previously shown a disposition to help. Only a few replies have had time to reach us up to the date of going to press, but we can definitely announce the following pledges and cash contributions toward the fund of a thousand dollars:

Thomas C. Hall, New York.....	\$50.00
Stockholder, Illinois	50.00
George D. Herron, New York.....	50.00
W., Illinois	60.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio	50.00
Gaylord Wilshire, New York.....	50.00
Adam L. Nagel, Kentucky.....	50.00
C. C. Reynolds, California.....	50.00
C. F. Nesbit, Washington, D.C.	50.00
Vernon Handy, Colorado	40.00
Otto M. Hansen, Illinois.....	20.00
C. Kessler, Kansas.....	30.00
M. B. Wesson, Texas.....	10.00
Mrs. S. D. Whitney, California.....	10.00
J. O. Duckett, California.....	10.00
James C. Wood, Illinois.....	10.00
Dr. H. Gifford, Nebraska.....	25.00
Total to date.....	\$615.00

Part of the subscriptions are contingent upon the entire amount of one thousand dollars being raised, and it is therefore doubly important that all who wish the REVIEW continued should write at once what they are willing to do. Two of the men whose names appear in this list are farm laborers, and most of the number are people of limited means, who give not because they can easily spare the money, but because they are convinced of the supreme importance of the work.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE REVIEW.

To find new subscribers is a help no less important than to contribute cash. One of our stockholders, Joseph Weiss of New York, writes: "My proposition, which I believe both to be feasible and to meet the existing conditions, as well as to permit of paying a fair remuneration for your most valuable and able management, would be to raise the annual subscription price to \$2.50 for outsiders and \$1.25 to stockholders, which certainly would be in keeping and consistent with the high standard of socialist literature; furthermore I do not hesitate to predict that the present subscribers are each and every one willing to pay the justifiably increased price for this sort of magazine. No person who appreciates such qualities is going to drop it or do without it for the sake of a mere paltry and trifling increase in the price, which means so much to the management."

Other comrades have suggested that the price be made one dollar to all alike, instead of fifty cents to stockholders as at present. It is undoubtedly true that the adoption of either of these plans would bring some present financial relief. We do not intend to take either step, however, except as a last resort, for we are convinced that a willingness to read and study the literature of real scientific socialism does not necessarily go along with the ability to pay high prices. The service which the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is rendering to the socialist movement is in that it is circulating six thousand copies each month among enthusiastic socialists who want to know more of socialism, and is thereby helping to create a large body of well-grounded socialists who are capable of explaining socialism to others. It would be easier to pay expenses with 2,000 subscribers at \$2.50 or 4,000 subscribers at \$1 than with 10,000 subscribers at fifty cents, but to reduce the circulation of the REVIEW would impair its value to the movement. We shall therefore avoid an increase of price if possible. The next few weeks will show. In the meantime we guarantee that every subscriber or purchaser of a subscription card will receive full value for his money, and the best way to make sure of the low rate being continued is to rush in the subscriptions.

A NEW BOOK BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

We have just published the first American edition of "God and My Neighbor," by Robert Blatchford, editor of the London *Clarion*, and by far the most popular and widely read of any writer on socialism in the English language. Blatchford's new book is a criticism of the popular, traditional, orthodox theology, and it is a criticism so rational in its spirit and so gentle in its phrasing that it can hardly be offensive to any one. Moreover, the book is in Blatchford's best and strongest style, and will command the attention of any one who begins reading, simply from the admirable literary quality of what it contains.

It is of course agreed that the Socialist Party takes no stand on the question of religion or theology, but leaves such matters to the free choice of its members. Our co-operative publishing house has published books from the Christian point of view, and will doubtless publish more of them in future. This book of Blatchford, while it is an admirable application of historical materialism in simple style, is nevertheless not offered as a Socialist book, but simply as a book that is worth reading by anyone interested in the development of religious ideas. It is handsomely printed on paper of extra quality. The price in cloth binding is one dollar and in paper fifty cents, with the usual discounts to stockholders.

MORE CAPITAL NEEDED.

In the February number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW we announced that the stockholders had voted to authorize the issue of four thousand additional shares of stock at ten dollars each. These are gradually being subscribed by Socialist locals and individual Socialists, but most of the subscribers are paying in monthly instalments of one dollar, so that no great amount of capital has yet been made available for use. The presidential campaign has opened, and there will without doubt be an im-

mense demand for propaganda literature. Our capital has not been and is not sufficient to enable us to supply this demand, and the consequence is that we have been obliged to utilize our credit to the utmost to carry the present stock of books and pamphlets, and that we shall not be able to increase the supply this year as it should be increased, without some substantial additions to our capital. Ten dollars invested now in a share of our stock will do an important service to the cause of Socialism, apart from the individual benefit to the person or the local making the investment. We will not take space here to explain this benefit, but will mail to anyone upon request a copy of the booklet "A Socialist Publishing House," in which the co-operative organization of the company is fully described. There are probably several hundred readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW who are intending to take stock some time. We wish each of these would realize that now before the campaign is fairly started is the time when the money is most needed.

As we go to press we have a letter from Comrade A. A. Heller of New York, in which he says: "If you were, for example, to issue pamphlets, little easy expositions of Socialism, and send them broadcast, I should gladly join you. If you were to organize a system of mailing literature to individuals or clubs or associations, where it would most be appreciated, at a nominal cost, or no cost at all if necessary, I would make the following proposition: I will subscribe, lend or give \$100, if you can raise \$900 more for the same purpose. In fact, I'd be willing to give that amount for any good use, provided it will not go to sink more money for an ineffectual undertaking."

Here is a practical suggestion that if acted on will immensely increase the efficiency of our co-operative company during the presidential campaign. To secure the contribution offered by Mr. Heller, it is necessary that nine hundred dollars more be contributed. Many small sums will count as well as a few large ones, and one comrade who has lent a considerable amount of money to the company authorizes us to say that for every dollar of cash contributed during 1904, either to the REVIEW fund started by Mr. Hall, or to the propaganda fund started by Mr. Heller, he will contribute a dollar from the debt due him. Thus every dollar contributed this year will count doubly toward putting the company on a cash basis, where it will be owned absolutely by the co-operative shareholders, with no claim against it from any individual. This will make the future of the company secure, irrespective of the life of any one man or any few men.

Do not delay action in the matter. If you are not yet a stockholder, make yourself one by sending ten dollars for a share, or if that is not possible, then a dollar or more as first payment on a share. If you are a stockholder, send your cash contribution or pledge toward the REVIEW fund of one thousand dollars and the propaganda fund of one thousand dollars. Remember that every dollar you send this year takes two dollars off the liabilities of the company. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-operative),
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.